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Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Monguor
*ǥon "year"	on	fån
*ǥodun "star"	odun	fõdi
*ǥarban "ten"	arban	χarwan
*ǥeki "head, beginning"	ekin	χǥgi
*ǥirů "to pray"	irüge	ćurõ-

(It must also be added that the Common Mongolian *p or *ǥ becomes ć in Monguor before the following *i, as seen in a previous example).

2) A special characteristic of Monguor is that in the very same word a Written Mongolian hard consonant (medially) becomes soft, but the Written Mongolian initial soft consonant becomes hard.

Mongolian	Monguor
ekin "head"	χǥgi
burčag "pea"	p'dźiag
bičig "letter"	p'udźig

3) The Written Mongolian consonant *t and *kv were so strongly aspirated in Monguor that they became *tź:

Mongolian	Monguor
tata- "to pull"	tźida-
teǰiye- "to feed"	tźudźie-

4) Written Mongolian *o and *ǒ converged to *o; and written Mongolian *u and *ů converged to *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
ebůdůg "knee"	udig
bǒdǒne "quail"	bodono
ǥurban "three"	gurăn
odun "star"	fõdi

5) Written Mongolian vowel *i after *b became *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
bičig "letter"	p'udźig
bi "I"	bu

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*563

III. The Tibetan Dialect of the Chinghai Region

The Tibetan dialect of Chinghai has never been studied, although some, like Potanin, Prževalski, Hedin, Filchner, Rockhill, Tafel and Ekvall have made some brief remarks about it. The following statements are made on the basis of the few words and phrases reported in their diaries and articles.

1) The Tibetan Chinghai dialect, like Lhasa Tibetan is a monosyllabic tonal language presenting the typical phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the Tibetan-Burmese subgroup of the Indo-Chinese language family.

2) The Chinghai dialect may be subdivided into two branches: that of the sedentary Tibetans (rong-skad "valley speech") and

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 *563 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bkrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 576 *563 [127] The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced especially in the area between Kokonor, Tossun-nor and the

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576
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[127]

Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nañ-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-lam-na-de-băr-tyŏ-chig

194
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As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-; e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

191
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The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

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177
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The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

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A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ɿ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the ru-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ȵ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

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19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

S N 197 d) Contrast between -ẽ and -əŋ

S [563] [169] Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N 175 197 S 175 197 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

S N 191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

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The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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D. Minority Languages

Besides these general practices of the Communist minority policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, if not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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212

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212

As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.